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ABSTRACT

This set of articles draws from a conceptual model for Hispanic mental health research developed by the Hispanic Research Center of Fordham University and describes the development and use of "Tell-Me-a-Story" (TEMAS), a new thematic apperception test for the assessment of personality functioning in ethnic minority children. An introduction, by Lloyd Rogler ("A Barrier Model for Hispanic Mental Health Research: New Techniques for the Psychiatric Evaluation and Psychotherapy of Hispanic Children"), summarizes the research model and considers the reliability and validity of TEMAS. The next two articles are by Giuseppe Constantino: "TEMAS: A New Technique for Personality Assessment and Psychotherapy for Hispanic Children" reviews the cultural basis for ineffectiveness of traditional mental health treatment modalities and introduces TEMAS; "Cuentos Folkloricos: A New Therapy Modality with Puerto Rican Children" presents results of ongoing research on therapy which uses historical and folkloric Hispanic figures to promote ego development in Puerto Rican children and adolescents. This is followed by "Reliability and Validity of TEMAS: A New Thematic Apperception Test for Urban Ethnic Minority Children," by Robert Malgady, an article which elaborates upon the technical psychometric research on this new projective personality test. The final article, by Jean Bailey ("TEMAS: A Blind Case Study"), discusses a case history of a child who was administered the TEMAS procedure. (Author/WAM)

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A Barrier Model for Hispanic Mental Health Research: New Techniques for the Psychiatric Evaluation and Psychotherapy of Hispanic Children

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The last two issues of the HRC's *Research Bulletin* (October 1981-January 1982 and April-1982, Vols. 4 and 5, Nos. 4-1 and 2-3) discussed research on five general problems relevant to Hispanic mental health care: lack of psychiatric epidemiology of Hispanic mental health needs; Hispanic underutilization of traditional mental health services; cultural insensitivity of traditional assessments of Hispanic mental health clients; ineffectiveness of traditional psychotherapeutic modalities with Hispanics; and lack of social and vocational rehabilitation for community adjustment of deinstitutionalized Hispanics. The research problems were integrated into a model conceived of as a sequence of interlocking barriers experienced by Hispanics in seeking mental health care.

The articles presented in this issue of the *Research Bulletin* elaborate the review of research and discuss new developments related to the third and fourth barriers of the model. The first, "TEMAS: A New Technique for Personality Assessment and Psychotherapy for Hispanic Children," written by Giuseppe Costantino, presents a detailed literature review of the cultural basis for ineffectiveness of traditional treatment modalities and lack of validity of traditional personality assessment instruments, and introduces a new thematic apperception test to assess personality functioning in urban ethnic minority children. The second article, "Cuentos Folkloricos: A New Therapy Modality with Puerto Rican Children," by Giuseppe Costantino, presents the results of ongoing research on folktale therapy, another new modality which uses historical and folkloric Hispanic figures to promote ego development in Puerto Rican children and adolescents. The third article, "Reliability and Validity of TEMAS: A New Thematic Apperception Test for Urban Ethnic Minority Children," by Robert Malgady, elaborates the technical psychometric research on a new projective personality test for Hispanics. It presents strong evidence of interrater, test-retest, and internal consistency reliability. The fourth article, "TEMAS: A Blind Case Study," by Jean Bailey, discusses a case history of a child who was administered the TEMAS procedure. All of these articles were originally presented as papers at the meeting of the American Psychological Association (APA) in Washington, D.C., in August 1982, during a symposium on the mental health of Hispanics chaired by this author, with Esteban Olmedo, APA Project Officer of Ethnic Minority Affairs, as discussant.

A Conceptual Framework for Research in Hispanic Mental Health Care

In order to situate the articles presented here within the HRC's conceptual model for Hispanic mental health research, we shall briefly summarize the different stages of the model. This barrier model of problems in Hispanic mental health care conceptualizes epidemiological and clinical services research as spanning a temporal sequence consisting of five overlapping phases. The first phase includes epidemiological studies of psychopathology among Hispanic populations and serves as a foundation for the ensuing phases. The second phase begins with an individual's experience of anxiety and/or display of psychopathological symptoms, and effort to utilize mental health services. The third and fourth phases involve psycho-diagnostic evaluation and psychotherapy, while in the fifth phase, therapy is terminated and community adjustment is attempted.

A detailed review of recent mental health studies on Hispanics emphasizes how these five phases pose successive barriers which deter Hispanics from receiving adequate treatment. The literature contained in the articles which follow suggests, for example, that although epidemiological surveys are scarce, available evidence links characteristics of Hispanic populations, such as migration to an alien culture, lower socioeconomic status, language difficulty and unemployment, with increased incidence of schizophrenia, depression, stress, anxiety, report of pathologic symptomatology, and lower self-esteem.[1] Hispanics represent the most rapidly growing minority population in the United States[2] yet tend to underutilize traditional mental health services.[3] Factors underlying underutilization include cultural belief in nontraditional forms of therapy,[4] and a host of organizational barriers encountered in therapy related to cultural conflict.[5] Research on the third barrier to Hispanics' mental health care focuses on the currently prominent issue of cultural insensitivity of traditional assessment procedures for psychodiagnosis and evaluation,[6] and on the effects of bilingualism, language of the psychiatric interview, and ethnicity of the examiner on psychodiagnosis.[7] Research related to the fourth barrier focuses on the ineffectiveness of traditional forms of psychotherapy with Hispanics,[8] and consequent adaptation of traditional treatment modalities and development of innovative modalities tailored to the Hispanic culture.[9]

The fifth barrier is of paramount importance given the recent deinstitution-

alization movement of psychiatric patients from mental health facilities to the community[10] and the virtual dearth of knowledge about aftercare, rehabilitation and recidivism in Hispanic patients.[11]

In this issue of the *Research Bulletin*, we focus our attention on the review of the research literature and the discussion of new developments related to the third and fourth barriers of the model: techniques for mental health assessment and psychotherapeutic modalities for Hispanic children.

New Techniques for Personality Assessment and Psychotherapy for Hispanic Children

Hispanics experience tension between their own cultural heritage and behavior and the values of the dominant American culture. In a review of the mental health literature on Hispanics, Padilla and Aranda[12] noted a general lack of regard for such considerations. Further, the underutilization and ineffectiveness of traditional psychotherapeutic efforts with Hispanics have been attributed to confusion and misunderstanding engendered by language barriers, psychocultural distance, socioeconomic bias, reinforcement of alienation, stereotyping, and expectation discrepancies between Hispanic patients and typically white, middle-class therapists.[13] Thus, recent criticisms of prevailing mental health resources for Hispanics argue that such services must be harmonious with the culture they serve; otherwise, the mental health service system will remain largely irrelevant to its clientele.[14]

Despite underutilization of traditional psychotherapy, there is a tendency among certain Hispanic subcultures to seek "folk" therapies.[15] In this regard, recent attention has focused on the role of folktales as a therapeutic modality to ameliorate emotional problems, promoting personality and ego development,[16] and enhancing self-image and empathy[17] in children. This issue of the *Research Bulletin* describes an ongoing study designed to evaluate the effectiveness of "cuento" therapy with Puerto Rican children (grades K through 3), using "cuentos" or folktales from the Puerto Rican culture to present models of relationships with parents, authorities and peers, reality testing, impulse control and acquisition of a self-concept of competence. Effectiveness of folk therapy is contrasted with traditional group therapy and a nonintervention control condition by evaluating pre-posttreatment change, after a six-month period of weekly sessions, with respect to adaptiveness of ego functions, teacher ratings of classroom behavior, and trait anxiety.

A prominent issue of continuing debate in the field of psychological testing is the culture fairness for minorities of instruments constructed from a white, middle-class culture perspective. While much of the debate has concentrated on intelligence tests, with the primary objections originating in the black community, other less publicized protests have criticized the use of traditional psychodiagnostic and personality tests with Hispanics. While some attempts have been made to develop culturally sensitive personality tests for blacks and Hispanics,[18] unfortunately, these instruments have not withstood critical psychometric evaluation.[19]

In light of the compelling need for a culture-sensitive personality test for Hispanics, the "Tell-Me-A-Story" (TEMAS) technique was developed as a thematic apperception test. This test, described in one of the articles which follow, consists of pictures depicting interactions among urban ethnic minority characters, minority cultural themes and symbols, and urban backgrounds.[20]

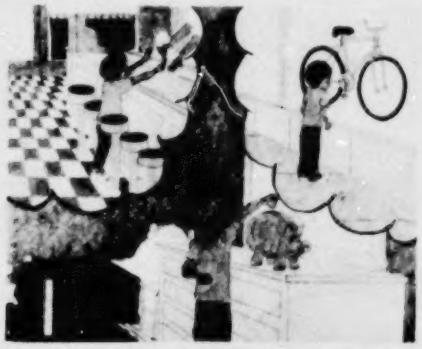

PLATE I

TEMAS card depicting a boy in conflict between immediate and delayed gratification. *Copyright 1980 by G. Costantino.*

Reliability and Validity of a Thematic Apperception Test for Hispanics

With respect to projective personality tests, minority children have been evaluated as less verbal, less emotionally responsive, and as presenting more psychopathology than non-minority children.[21] Debate continues as to whether such findings reflect inherent verbal-cognitive deficits of minority children or cultural insensitivity of traditional psychometric techniques.

Development of the TEMAS thematic apperception test was based on the hypothesis that projective test stimuli must be congruent with the cultural background of the examinee in order to elicit sufficient verbal productivity and meaningful responses.[22] Further, the stimuli depict situations involving underlying psychological conflict in order to elicit responses representative of adaptive/maladaptive ego functions. TEMAS stimuli are chromatic, as opposed to the achromatic TAT, to enhance the realism of situations, and less ambiguous than TAT pictures to "pull" for specific ego functions.

In administering TEMAS, the examiner presents each picture and asks the examinee to relate: What is happening in this picture? Who and where are these people and how are they related? What has happened before? What will happen in the future? And, how the main character "feels." Examinees tell a story about each picture, which the examiner records verbatim. The TEMAS consists of 31 stimuli, requiring 120 minutes to administer individually to children. Subsequently, stories are scored for the following criteria: verbal fluency (word count); latency; total response time; omission and transformation of main/secondary characters, setting, event, and conflict; affect of main character after resolution of conflict (rated happy, fearful, sad, angry, or ambivalent); adaptiveness of ego functions (ratings of person relations, aggression, anxiety/depression, achievement motivation, delay of gratification, self-concept of competence, self-sexual identity, moral judgment and reality testing).

Interrater reliability estimates for affect and ego function ratings were moderate to high, as were internal consistency reliability ratings across all scoring criteria. Test-retest reliability after a 4-month period was high with respect to identification of characters, their interrelationships and activities, and story theme. At present, TEMAS stimuli are normed on several hundred black and Hispanic children of low SES, selected from grades K to 6 in urban public schools. Apart from fluency and response time measures, TEMAS scores evidence negligible correlations with sex and age.

In other psychometric research on the face validity of TEMAS, 14 clinical and school psychologists independently reached a high level of agreement (78-100 percent) as to the particular ego functions "pulled" by each picture. A study of 76 male and female Hispanic fourth- and fifth-graders (9-12 years old) indicated these children were more verbally responsive to TEMAS pictures than TAT pictures.[23] Children were more likely to respond in Spanish to the TEMAS and switch from English on the TAT to Spanish on the TEMAS than vice versa. An independent study with 159 Hispanics, blacks and whites confirmed these findings with discriminant validity with respect to the verbal fluency criterion (i.e., whites were more responsive to the TAT, while minorities were more responsive to TEMAS). Further criterion validity studies are in progress, aimed at establishing predictability of trait anxiety measures, teacher ratings of adaptiveness of classroom behavior, and discrimination of psychiatric versus public school populations. Thus, by and large, psychometric studies suggest that TEMAS is a reliable new instrument, with face and

criterion validity for enhanced verbal fluency of Hispanics, and potential validity for ego functions assessment.

We hope the reader will find the articles presented below of value in understanding some of the barriers confronting Hispanics in seeking help, undergoing traditional psychotherapy, and remaining in treatment until amelioration of symptomatology.

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TEMAS: A New Technique for Personality Assessment and Psychotherapy for Hispanic Children

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A prominent issue of widespread debate in the field of psychological testing is the cultural fairness and validity for ethnic minorities of instruments that have been standardized and validated on primarily white, middle-class norm groups.[1] Quite recently, for example, this issue has been pursued in litigation questioning the "differential" validity of traditional standardized tests for diverse ethnic groups;[2] and in psychometric research comparing the internal factor structure of such tests for Hispanics, blacks, and whites.[3]

On projective personality tests, ethnic minority children consistently have been evaluated as less verbal, less emotionally responsive, and more psychopathological than their nonminority counterparts.[4] One interpretation of such findings, the "deficit" hypothesis, suggests that economically impoverished, urban ethnic minority children grow up in environments that engender serious deficits in intellectual and affective functioning.[5] Challenging this notion, others have argued for a cultural "difference" hypothesis; that is, urban ethnic minority children are not deficit, inasmuch as traditional standardized tests merely fail to validly measure the intellectual, personality, and affective functions in non-white, lower-class cultures.[6] Oakland[7] has argued that ethnic minority children have been the target of culturally biased assessment practices, since they are overrepresented in classrooms for the mentally retarded, yet underrepresented in classrooms for the physically handicapped.

An early attempt to develop a projective personality test oriented toward black Americans was made by Thompson (1949), who changed the white characters of Murray's (1943) TAT into black characters, based upon the notion that the closer test stimuli represent the examinee, the more the examinee identifies with the stimuli and hence elicitation of clinically meaningful verbal responses is more likely. Although preliminary findings indicated that black college students showed increased verbal fluency in response to the black TAT, subsequent studies failed to replicate these results.[8] Murstein[9] attributed the apparent

lack of validity of the black TAT to the possibility that blacks are not a socio-economically homogeneous group, as were Thompson's (1949) college students, and that high similarity between the examinee and test stimuli tends to increase ego defensiveness. Still others[10] have suggested that the black TAT lacked validity because only TAT characters were altered, while original TAT backgrounds and themes were retained; college students are not representative of the general black population; the test was introduced at a time when racial prejudice against blacks ostensibly was considered higher than today.

Notwithstanding the early discouraging findings with regard to the black TAT, Cowan and Goldberg[11] studied the effect of race and sex of TAT characters on achievement motivation of blacks, using original TAT characters with altered racial characteristics, and reported that black characters stimulated higher verbal fluency and achievement motivation than white characters. Bailey and Green[12] compared Murray's (1943) TAT, Thompson's (1949) black TAT, and an experimental TAT developed to reflect black racial features in a more culturally congruent manner than previous attempts. In response to the latter test, a socio-economically heterogeneous sample of blacks evidenced higher verbal fluency and judged the characters "more like people in general," leading to the conclusion that projective test stimuli culturally and racially congruent with the examinee are valuable in enhancing the clinical meaningfulness of responses.

In light of the compelling need for a minority oriented projective technique, TEMAS (meaning "themes" in Spanish) was developed as a thematic apperception test consisting of chromatic pictures depicting interpersonal interactions among urban ethnic minority characters, minority cultural themes and symbols, and inner-city urban settings.[13] In the administration of TEMAS, examinees are presented the pictorial stimuli and then tell a story identifying the characters, their activity, setting, and conflict. The TEMAS pictures depict interpersonal situations involving underlying psychological conflict (e.g., complying with a parental command vs. playing with peers) in order to elicit verbal responses from examinees reflective of adaptiveness of ego functioning.[14]

Initial psychometric scrutiny of TEMAS revealed high test-retest reliability with respect to story content; moderate to high internal consistency and interrater reliability; and high face validity, based upon consensus among a panel of practicing clinicians (experienced with projective techniques and minority assessment) regarding the ego functions "pulled" by each picture.[15]

In an earlier investigation, Costantino, Malgady, and Vazquez[16] administered TAT and minority TEMAS pictures to fourth- and fifth-grade Hispanic children. Results of this study indicated that Hispanic children were more verbally responsive to TEMAS pictures than TAT pictures, and this effect was more enhanced for females than males. In a recent study, Costantino and Malgady[17] compared Hispanic, black and white children's verbal fluency on the TAT and the TEMAS. An urban sample of 72 Hispanic, 41 black and 43 white children (grades K-6) were administered a minority TEMAS, a parallel TEMAS depicting nonminority characters, and the TAT. Results indicated that females were more verbally fluent on the TEMAS than the TAT; Hispanics and blacks were more verbally fluent on the TEMAS than the TAT; and whites evidenced no significant differences in verbal fluency. While the findings suggest an explanation of lack of verbal fluency different from the deficit hypothesis, the increased verbal fluency of minority children on the TEMAS seems to be associated primarily with such factors as cultural themes, urban backgrounds, contemporary characters, reduced ambiguity, and chromatic stimuli; and only secondarily associated with the minority characters depicted in TEMAS pictures.

Projective Tests

Apperception has been defined as the synthesis of a perception with the past experience of the individual and his/her emotional state. Projective tests seem to be more complete than the pencil and paper tests and psychological inventories, because projectives tap the perceptual, imaginal, and verbal functions of the individual. Recent research shows the process of a verbal response to a visual stimulus and how projectives reveal the personality characteristics of the examinee.

The research of Piaget[18] on the cognitive development of the child and the research of Paivio[19] on cognitive processes have shown that cognitive and emotional development depends on two separate but interacting coding systems, the imaginal and the verbal. Paivio[20] posited that the imagery system processes nonverbal information stored in the forms of images; whereas the verbal system processes abstract linguistic symbols. Hence images are related to concrete representations and words are related to abstract thinking. On the other hand, Piaget and Inhelder[21] hypothesized that images do not stem solely from perception, but also from the internal focusing of the operative schemes. This aspect of the memory image as a symbol and not a mere extension of perception is an important aspect in apperception: "An image is only a symbol and as such it can be employed in operational representations...in the reconstruction of past events; in the recall of all sorts of objects...(and significant others); or in fantasies, dreams, play and artistic activities." In this respect, the memory image elicited by a pictorial representation of TEMAS becomes a symbol which integrates the percept and the elicited past experience of the subject.

Although the research of Piaget explains the process of apperception, there is very little research which indicates how the projective tests reveal the personality functions and characteristics of the testees. Nevertheless, there are several hypotheses on what the projective tests measure.

Rapaport[22] suggests that the projective technique reveals the modus vivendi of the testee. More specifically, Murstein[23] indicates the testee projects his/her style of thinking, feeling, selective attention, and perceptual styles. The testee's responses, whether defensive or nondefensive, conscious or unconscious, may be analyzed in two basic ways in a thematic story: *(1)* The testee may reveal his/her wishes, conflicts, and anxiety in the content of her/her stories. *(2)* He/she may reveal his/her characteristics by selective inattention, by focusing on some stimuli while disregarding others. There are several forms of projection which a testee may reveal in a thematic story: (a) classic projection occurs when the testee assumes that the central character acts out his/her negative traits; (b) attributive projection occurs when the testee assumes that the central character acts out just as he/she would act out; (c) autistic projection occurs when the testee is in a specific emotional and/or physiological state at the time of the testing, e.g., hungry, and he/she assumes that the primary character is also hungry; and (d) rationalized projection occurs when the testee tends to rationalize the negative behavior of the primary character.

Development of TEMAS

TEMAS is a culture sensitive, thematic apperception test which takes into account the intrapersonal and interpersonal factors of both ethnic minority and non-minority children and adolescents. TEMAS I (Minority Children) and TEMAS II (Non-Minority Children) assess the interaction of affective/cognitive/social components of ego functions as exhibited in TEMAS stories.

The test was developed to:

1. Maximize the understanding of the personality of children, especially the less verbal, by tapping the perceptual, imaginal, and verbal systems.
2. Measure affective/cognitive/social maladaptive functions.
3. Help in developing therapeutic and educational interventions in order to foster adaptive ego functions in the personal, familial, academic, and social areas; and thus assist school-age children to develop more adaptive skills in coping with stressful life events.

The development of TEMAS as a

thematic apperception test is based on the following theoretical assumptions:

1. The usefulness of culture-specific and familiar stimuli in assessing the interaction of affective/cognitive/interpersonal functions of both minority and non-minority children.
2. The positive effects of reduced ambiguous and familiar stimuli on verbal productivity and on the understanding of personality and behavior dynamics.
3. The positive effects of color pictures on verbal productivity.
4. The bipolarities of ego functions; that is, the dialectic processes of the motivational-cognitive functions, as expounded in the theoretical models of ego-cognitive psychology and interpersonal psychology.
5. The importance of the visual and imaginal systems on the human learning process.
6. The use of story-telling as a projective technique to reveal personality functioning, and the use of story analysis to assess personality functioning.

The term "thematic apperception test" refers to the telling of a story in response to pictures and/or scenes. In this aspect, TEMAS is similar to TAT; however, there are six basic differences between the two thematic tests:

1. TAT stories are content analyzed in a subjective manner. TEMAS stories are analyzed to yield both clinical-intuitive understanding and normative data.
2. TAT assesses drive and need states, thus focusing only on intrapsychic dynamics. TEMAS assesses the interaction of affective/cognitive/interpersonal factors, thus focusing on both motivational and overt ego functions.
3. TAT has 30 achromatic plus 1 blank picture tapping intrapsychic processes on a broad scale. TEMAS has a total of 31 chromatic pictures developed to tap 9 ego functions, such as aggressive behavior. (The number of TEMAS cards will be reduced through successive standardization of the instrument.)
4. TAT uses ambiguity of stimuli to elicit meaningful stories. TEMAS uses reduced ambiguous stimuli to elicit diagnostically meaningful stories.
5. TAT is heavily weighted to represent hostility, negative emotions, and depressive moods. TEMAS represents conflict polarities: the negative and positive aspects of affects, cognitions, and intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships.
6. TAT pictures depict characters and backgrounds of the 1930's. TEMAS pictures depict familiar cultural themes, urban backgrounds, and contemporary characters.

Ambiguity vs. Reduced Ambiguity of Stimuli

Thematic apperception techniques have always used ambiguous stimuli because those stimuli elicit unconscious needs and anxieties. TEMAS uses reduced ambiguous and highly structured stimuli because those stimuli elicit ego functions, including motivations and affects.

The research on ambiguity of stimuli indicates that low and medium structured stimuli tend to elicit the most significant thematic responses.[24] However, there is a significant body of literature showing that reduced ambiguous stimuli tend to elicit meaningful ego functions. In fact, Kagan and Moss[25] found that test rates' reliability and stability of fantasy motives depended on the high structure of the picture, and that a story using reduced ambiguous stimuli tended to reveal more personality dynamics than a theme using ambiguous stimuli. Furthermore, Goldstein and Barthol[26] found that subjects tended to tell stories of the peripheral and incidental aspects of the pictures when the stimuli were ambiguous, but they told stories of the central aspects of the cards when the stimuli were reduced ambiguous.

Two researchers advocating the usefulness and the validity of reduced ambiguous stimuli are Veroff[27] and Micheinbaum.[28] They indicate that in order to assess the strength of a motive or the occurrence of behavior, we need to present reduced ambiguous stimuli of that particular motive or behavior in different settings. If, for example, we want a reliable measure of achievement motivation or aggressive behavior, we need pictures depicting achievement motivation or aggression in different settings such as schools, streets, and home. With respect to familiarity and culture-congruent stimuli, Ausebel[29] and Labov[30] have shown that the verbal ability of ethnic minority children was facilitated by familiar examiners and familiar surroundings. Furthermore, Dickie and Bagur[31] pointed out:

> *Probably no one is now so naive as to choose a picture of a forest or a typical suburban, picket-fence home to elicit language from an urban, low-income child or to ask the child to tell about a picture showing only white middle-SES people.* (p. 33)

TEMAS stimuli are highly structured, reduced ambiguous and familiar. However, the pictures do not elicit the same stories by every subject because the TEMAS stimuli depict bipolarities of ego functions such as relationship with parents versus relationship with peers, aggressive behavior versus cooperative behavior. Each picture represents a split scene showing antithetical or conflicting functions which require a resolution. TEMAS pictures depict visual dilemma similar to Kohlberg's stories which present moral dilemmas. Hence, each individual resolves the antithetical ego function depicted in the split pictures according to his/her degree of adaptive/maladaptive functions and his/her stage of ego development.

The Use of Color

Both clinicians and researchers know that color has a strong impact on the perception of Rorschach cards, and that the integration between color and form is considered a sign of emotional growth and cognitive organization.[32] During the late 1950's and the early 1960's, there were a series of studies assessing whether the use of color cards influenced the thematic responses. Originally, Thompson and Bachrach,[33] using both achromatic/chromatic cards of the black TAT, found that black and white subjects verbalized more words to the chromatic cards, and that the achromatic cards elicited more unpleasant themes than the chromatic ones. Murstein,[34] reviewing a series of studies on the color hypothesis, concludes:

> *The studies considered as a whole support the assumption that the addition of color facilitates the differentiation between the thematic responses of the psychiatric and normal, and the normal and handicapped groups. Apparently, the dyspeptic effect of the* achromicity reinforces *the already strong stimulus impetus of the TAT cards toward sadness.* (p. 202, emphasis added.)

TEMAS pictures are in color. The value of the chromatic pictures is associated with the tested hypothesis that color facilitates verbalization. The use of color in TEMAS is not associated with specific psychological functions, but with the natural human function of color vision. It is a fact that individuals perceive the environment not in black and white but in full color, if we exclude a small minority of color-blind and blind persons.

Ego Functions

During the 1950's, the "id" psychology," as posited by Freud, was expended into the "ego psychology," originally formulated by Hartmann and Kriss, and into the interpersonal psychology originally formulated by the neo-Freudians such as Horney and Sullivan. The ego psychologists focused on the influence of the structure of the ego on overt behavior, while the neo-Freudians focused on interpersonal relationships as important factors contributing to the growth and/or the pathology of the ego or the self. Consequently, there has been a tendency to regard the responses to the TAT cards as cognitive productions at the control of the ego instead of revealing unconscious needs."

Bellak and his associates[16] define ego functions as theoretical constructs based on observations of behavior and on patients' verbalizations of their experiences. Furthermore, they define ego constructs in terms of a number of functions that reflect

both adaptive and maladaptive behaviors of the person. The authors operationalize 12 ego functions as: reality testing; judgment; sense of reality of the world and the self; regulations and control of drives, affects and impulses; object relations; thought processes; adaptive regression in the service of the ego (ARISE); defensive functioning; stimulus barrier; autonomous functioning; synthetic-integrative functioning; and mastery-competence.

Ego functions in TEMAS are operationalized as theoretical constructs derived from observations of behaviors and motives verbalized in TEMAS stories. There are nine basic ego functions represented in 31 Temas pictures:

1. **Person Relations** refers to the degree and quality of relatedness to parental and authority figures, siblings and peers. Adaptive/maladaptive interpersonal relationships depend upon the ability to synthesize the polarities of dependence-individuation, respect-disrespect, and nurturance-rejection as verbalized in the TEMAS stories. Adaptive interpersonal relationship refers to the ability to assume an age-appropriate (mature) role free from conflicts and aggressive needs in relating to others, as revealed in TEMAS stories.

2. **Aggression Fantasy/Ideation** refers to direct verbal and physical expressions with intent to kill, harm, injure oneself or others, or to destroy property. Such ideation, direct verbal and physical threats, reflect loss of impulse control, that is, internal arousal of motives or acquired and maintained social behavior.

3. **Anxiety/Depression** refers to irrational fears, pervasive feelings of unhappiness, psychosomatic symptoms, suicidal thoughts, feelings of worthlessness, crying, helplessness, feelings of loneliness and being withdrawn.

4. **Achievement Motivation** refers to the striving for success and/or the reaching of a goal in competition with some standard of excellence with oneself or others in sports/games, school/learning, and vocation/avocation.

5. **Delay of Gratification** refers to the ability of the subject to forego an immediate smaller reward and/or gratification and wait and/or work to achieve a future larger reward or gratification.

6. **Self-Concept of Competence** refers to the realistic perception of one's intellectual, social, physical, and vocational abilities, without underestimating or overestimating them. It also refers to mastery and the ability to change one's environment.

7. **Self-Sexual Identity** refers to the positive perception of oneself in various social roles and to the age-appropriate psychosocial maturity. Specifically, self-sexual identity refers to the realistic perception of roles appropriate to one's sex. Sex roles can be perceived as either gender appropriate, inappropriate, or androgynous. Inappropriate sex-role behavior is indicated by the presence of anxiety about behavior.

8. **Moral Judgment** refers to that developmental stage where the superego or social conscience is operational. Specifically, moral judgment refers to one's ability to know right from wrong and act accordingly, to accept responsibility for wrongdoing, and to experience guilt for wrongdoing.

9. **Reality Testing** refers to the ability to distinguish between fantasy -- one's belief that something is -- and reality -- what is objectively verified as being. It refers to the ability to distinguish dangerous situations and anticipate the personal/social consequences of one's behavior.

TEMAS ego constructs are also defined in terms of bipolar functioning on an adaptive-maladaptive continuum.

Bipolar Functions

Bellak[1] describes the ego as having an oscillating function between fantasy and cognitive control. The present author conceptualizes the ego as having a pendular function between two antithetical poles and an integrative function. That is, cognitive and affective functions allow a dialectic process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. These three stages are constructs of historical development in Hegelian philosophy as applied to constructs of ego functions and development.

Although it lacks extensive empirical validation, the concept of bipolar ego functions has theoretical antecedents in psychology. Heaven and hell, right and left, beautiful and ugly, right and wrong, good and evil, have been recognized as the most important polarities between which a person oscillates. Analyzing the growth of ancient Greeks from barbarians to highly civilized individuals, Nietzsche[18] writes that the Greek world was comprised of two polarities: the Apollonian, which represented the good, rational and controlled side of man and the universe, and the Dionysian, which represented the evil, irrational and regressed side of man and the universe. The two polarities were in sharp opposition and only their reconciliation or synthesis created the highly civilized Greek citizen. Jung[19] writes that "man continually oscillates between heaven and hell." An oscillation toward one side is always followed by an equal oscillation toward the other. Normal psychological growth is found only at the center, where man is neither angel nor devil, but simply man. Jung theorized a series of psychological polarities. The ones that have received some empirical validations are the constructs of introversion and extroversion.[40]

It appears that affective and cognitive processes also follow a dialectic process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Recent research on dialectic or "Janusian" thinking[41] indicates that creative discoveries such as the theory of relativity or the writing of a poem occur through the synthesis of opposites or antithesis.

The concept of bipolar or antithetical ego functions is the most important theoretical basis of TEMAS. The bipolarity of ego functions is an alternate theoretical and more parsimonious explanation of primary versus secondary processes thinking of orthodox psychoanalysis.

Adaptive-Maladaptive Ego Functions

Although there are different dimensions to categorize mental health and normality, the ego functions, as depicted in TEMAS pictures, are measured along the adaptive-maladaptive continuum on a 3-point Lykert-type scale.

Each function is assessed along the adaptive-maladaptive dimension according to psychosocial criteria. Hartmann[42] has indicated that the most important aspect of adaptation of ego functions is the social system, which indicates the adaptive values of various behaviors by determining which functions are useful-adaptive or detrimental-maladaptive.

However, since TEMAS' theoretical basis is within the interpersonal-social system, adaptive-maladaptive functioning is based on the degree of the individual functioning and the individual interaction with other people and society-at-large. Therefore, a given ego function is considered adaptive if the individual feels free from discomfort and is fulfilling a productive role in society. Conversely, the ego function is considered maladaptive if the individual feels discomfort and is not fulfilling a useful role in society. Nevertheless, the ultimate measure of maladaptive function rests on the dictates of social norms, especially for acting out and psychopathic individuals.

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Cuentos Folkloricos: A New Therapy Modality with Puerto Rican Children

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Recent census statistics show that about 12 million Hispanics currently reside in the United States, with a projected increase to between 20 and 30 million during the next decade. Census reports also indicate that 85 percent of the Hispanic population is concentrated in urban settings, with a significant portion established in the Northeast (primarily New York and New Jersey). Urban Hispanics tend to reside in almost exclusively Hispanic communities, generally work in more unskilled positions, and earn a lower mean income than non-Hispanics.[1]

This means that large portions of the Hispanic population suffer from the effects of poverty, which demographic studies consistently report are related to stress and, consequently, a higher incidence of mental illness. Indeed, one of the foremost psychological problems facing both native-born and immigrant Hispanics is stress induced by adaptation to an alien culture in the United States. Dominant Hispanic cultural values and behavioral norms often conflict dramatically with American social and behavioral norms, as Cohen[2] highlighted, with respect to orientation to time, interpersonal dependence, expression of feelings, and basic conception of human nature.

Stress induced by social acculturation, language barriers, scholastic and economic problems in urban Hispanic children has been linked with psychological manifestations such as heightened feelings of rejection and alienation, devalued self-esteem, high trait anxiety, high depression, high aggressive behavior, higher rates of drug and alcohol abuse and suicide, and report of more psychiatric symptoms in comparison to non-minority children.[3] Moreover, the President's Commission on Mental Health[4] estimated that some two million Hispanic and black youngsters, mostly from low socioeconomic status (SES) families, currently experience severe mental health problems.

The problem of increased stress and prevalence of mental illness among Hispanic children is compounded by their underutilization of traditional mental health facilities and higher attrition rates after initial contact, the frequent failure of community mental health programs to adapt to the needs of the Hispanic community, and the lack of culturally unbiased instruments for personality assessment to facilitate accurate psychodiagnosis, prediction of psychological disorders, and evaluation of psychotherapeutic outcomes. Independent of ethnicity, mental health professionals are generally middle-class, and, therefore, low SES

clients do not share the middle-class perspective on which psychotherapy is based.[7]

In a review of nearly 500 studies of Hispanics and mental health, Padilla and Aranda[8] criticized this literature, first of all, for the dearth of knowledge on the topic, but also because of inadequate research methodologies and unwarranted assumptions about the Hispanic population. Indeed, Lorion[9] has argued that since the purpose of psychotherapy is to facilitate adaptation and adjustment to stress or underlying psychological conflict, which requires an understanding of the conditions giving rise to the disorder, disregard of the individual's culture is short-sighted if therapeutic solutions are perceived as incongruent with the individual's cultural experience. For example, Hispanics' reliance on spiritualistic beliefs and intrafamilial support often is interpreted under traditional psychotherapeutic views as maladaptive or even pathological.[8]

In a strong indictment of community mental health programs for Hispanics, Arce[9] implicated a variety of factors potentially responsible for the under-utilization and ineffectiveness of traditional treatment efforts, including: (1) the exclusionary effect of middle-class white professional bias; (2) reinforcement of stigmatization and alienation through use of traditional treatment methods; (3) confusion and misunderstanding engendered by language barriers and psychocultural distance between patient and therapist; (4) antitherapeutic intrusion of culturally determined stereotypes, and (5) the discrepancy between patients' expectations and their actual therapeutic experiences. Further, the issue of adapting traditional psychotherapies to meet the special problems of the Hispanic community is magnified upon consideration of the cultural diversity of different Hispanic groups. Diverse Hispanic groups tend to be stereotypically coalesced into one homogeneous group due to their common language, while more subtle subcultural distinctions between groups are ignored. Recent critics of existing mental health resources for Hispanics insist that such resources must be harmonious with the culture they serve, otherwise, the mental health service system will remain largely irrelevant to its clientele.

Effectiveness of traditional psychodynamically-oriented and verbally expressive psychotherapies is further impugned by the fact that urban Hispanics (especially at lower socioeconomic levels) tend to be unresponsive to therapy, partly because of an ostensible deficit in verbal fluency, and also because of a tendency to think in their dominant language and translate into English when responding to a non-Hispanic therapist. From a community mental health perspective, the problem of ineffective psychotherapy is complicated by a shortage of bilingual/bicultural therapists and ancillary mental health personnel.[10]

Numerous clinicians and researchers have argued that low SES ethnic minority clients are responsive to psychotherapy if the therapist is of similar ethnic background and sensitive to the needs of the ethnic minority patient, and if new and creative psychotherapeutic modalities are introduced to meet the needs of the ethnic minority patient. If such conditions are met, the low SES minority patient is likely to undergo psychotherapy and to benefit from it because "it is the height of pretentiousness (on the part of the middle-class psychotherapist) to assume that members of the 'lower classes' are not interested in coming close to the nature of this experience or that the capacity to develop emotional insight is dependent on economic or educational status."[11]

Cuentos as a Repository of Cultural and Human Values

For centuries the telling of folktales has been one of the prime and most effective modes of fostering ego development in young children. Even today among various ethnic groups, the oldest members of the family educate the youngsters in their cultural heritage through oral literature.

What is the cultural relevance of folktales within the Puerto Rican heritage and how do folktales promote ego growth? The answer to this complex question can be found both in literature and in psychology. Madrid,[12] who analyzed the values and attitudes of the Latin American people as expressed in their folktales and folksongs, writes:

> *Folk literature is credited with the embodying of psychological and ideological attitudes of the people, with folk literature being the accumulated wisdom of the people, the bond that through time and space gives cohesion to the cultural group.*

McClelland and his associates[13] conducted several studies on achievement motivation as expressed in the folktales and in the culture at large of various American-Indian groups. The authors found a strong correlation between the two variables and explained the results by advancing a heuristic hypothesis:

> *A general emphasis on achievement in the culture influences both child training and the kind of stories which are told by the culture -- particularly since the stories may often be used to educate the young.*

Toldson and Pasteur,[14] who strongly advocate the use of black folklore as a therapeutic modality, write:

> *The black aesthetic (folklore) appears to be more cultural than racial in origin, but it is best epitomized in people of color in general and in black people specifically. Thus the designation of black aesthetic. It is manifested in the expressive behaviors and cultural life of black people...our past few years of research on the implication of the use of black aesthetic...have noted that some limited attempts have been made to use black aesthetic in an educational sense, but rarely if ever has it been used psychologically...*

Thus, we can confidently state that the cuentos, one of the most important components of the folklore of Puerto Rican culture, are the repository of the cultural values and psychosocial patterns of behavior of the Puerto Rican people. At the same time, the cuentos are vehicles which transmit the cultural heritage from parent to child.

Cuentos as Symbolic Modeling of Thoughts, Beliefs and Behaviors

Today, the cuento tradition continues both in Puerto Rico and in the Puerto Rican communities outside the island. This author's Puerto Rican adult clients, who attended elementary school in Puerto Rico, remember reading cuentos in school. Many parents still tell cuentos to their children as bedtime stories. Cognizant of this tradition, in 1978 the New York City Board of Education compiled a list of 20 cuentos of Juan Bobo to help improve the reading skills of bilingual Puerto Rican students. Although the cuentos have been used as educational tools, they have not been used as psychological vehicles to promote ego growth.

How do the cuentos educate children and how do they foster ego growth? The answer can be found in social learning theory.[15] Within this theory cuentos constitute symbolic modeling of adaptive ego functions within the Puerto Rican culture to which children are exposed. Bandura points out that verbal, imaginal coding, and rehearsal are important cognitive factors in symbolic modeling. He describes four sub-processes of symbolic modeling: (1) In order to imitate, the observer must pay attention to the modeled behavior. (2) Imagery labeling and verbal labeling which are reinforced by rehearsal facilitate imitation of the modeled behavior when the model is absent. (3) To imitate a model, the observer must have the motor reproduction abilities that are relevant to the new complex motor behavior. (4) Modeled behavior can be acquired by observation alone, but reinforcement is necessary for the maintenance of behavior.

Cuentos constitute a complete symbolic modeling because they embody both the affective and the cognitive modes of experiencing. Within our model of cuento therapy, the cuentos folkloricos have the function of motivating attentional processes by presenting culturally familiar characters, by modeling characters, thoughts, beliefs, and behaviors with which children can

identify, and by mediating a more functional relationship with the mother, the storyteller. In addition to the intrinsic human values present in the original cuentos, the readapted cuentos graft into the narrative ego functions from the Anglo culture which promote ego growth. Thus, the children who are in conflict between two cultures find a new synthesis and achieve optimal mental health.[16]

Cuento Therapy As Treatment Modality

It is known that Puerto Ricans who practice *espiritismo* also attend mental health clinics. This dual practice points to a need for Puerto Ricans to find a bridge between their folk therapy and conventional therapy. Research with Hispanics indicates that they are in need of more mental health care than the general population. Hispanics are only partially acculturated and, consequently, experience personality disturbances.[17] School-age children present a high incidence of emotional and educational problems. Seville-Troike[18] writes:

> *The Puerto Rican students in New York are plagued by social and emotional disorientation, inferiority feelings and poor self-image. Obviously, these psychological problems affect their academic performance and their development within the society.*

Cuento therapy is a culture-sensitive treatment modality developed to bridge the gap between the Puerto Rican cultural heritage and the Anglo culture. The effectiveness of cuento therapy must be empirically proven. Discussing the lack of culture-sensitive therapy modalities, Padilla et al.[19] write:

> *...an innovative treatment program is self-defeating unless validating research is conducted...to guide the development of programs with the greatest probability of success.*

Cuento therapy promises to be an effective treatment modality with Puerto Rican children and their mothers because it incorporates three cardinal factors:

1. The Puerto Rican heritage as manifested in the cuentos folkloricos.
2. The mother as a pivotal figure in the Puerto Rican family.
3. Adaptive ego functions as reflected in the dominant culture.

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Two hundred and sixteen Puerto Rican children and their mothers, a total of 432 subjects, were selected from two Public Schools in District 15. The two schools have a total population of 3000 students of which 88 per cent are Puerto Rican. All child subjects had ages ranging from 5 to 10 years and attended kindergarten, 1st, 2nd, or 3rd grades.

At the beginning of the 1981/82 school year, the teachers in the four grades rated all their students on a Behavior Rating Scale consisting of 11 ego domains: (1) achievement motivation, (2) aggressive behavior, (3) verbal and cognitive behavior, (4) hyperactive behavior, (5) anxiety/depression, (6) moral behavior, (7) relationship to authority figures, (8) delay of gratification, (9) disruptive behavior, (10) relationship with peers, and (11) self-concept of competence. The 216 subjects were selected from the population of Puerto Rican children below the 50th percentile. All child-mother dyads belonged to low SES categories.

The 216 children were pretested in December 1981-January 1982 and administered the following instruments: (a) three subtests of the EIWPN (WISC): vocabulary, similarity, comprehension, (b) role-playing situations to assess: aggression, self-concept of competence, disruptive behavior, delay of gratification, and (c) TEMAS (9 pictures), a new thematic apperception test, to assess 9 ego functions: person relations, aggression, anxiety/depression, achievement motivation, delay of gratification, self-concept of competence, self/sexual identity, moral judgment, and reality testing. The 216 mothers were also pretested during the same period, and were administered the following instruments: (a) Spielberger Anxiety Scale (Self-Evaluation Questionnaire), (b) Shostrom Personal Orientation Inventory, (c) Loevinger Sentence Completion, (d) Mother Behavior Rating Scale (rating their children in the study), and (e) Spielberger Anxiety Scale for Children (informing on trait anxiety of their children in the study).

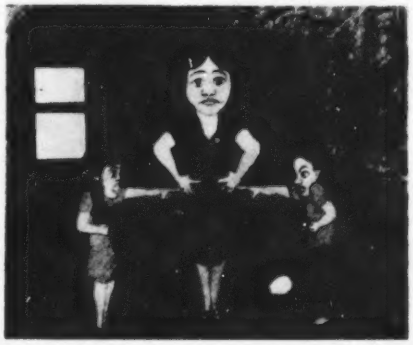

PLATE II
TEMAS card depicting siblings in conflict. *Copyright 1980 by G. Costantino.*

All instruments were administered in Spanish and English to the children, and predominantly in Spanish to the mothers by bilingual/bicultural examiners.

A total of 18 bilingual/bicultural research assistants participated in the study. Eighteen functioned in the role of examiner, and 14 in the role of psychotherapist.

Treatment Groups

There were four treatment conditions: (1) Original Cuento Therapy Group, (2) Adapted Cuento Therapy Group, (3) Art/Play Therapy Group, and (4) Non-Treatment Control Group. The 216 dyads were randomly assigned to the four conditions by sex. In order to make the treatment groups more manageable for the therapy intervention, the 162 dyads assigned to treatments 1, 2, and 3 were subdivided into 21 subgroups of approximately 8 dyads per subgroup. There were 11 subgroups of boys and 10 subgroups of girls.

Seven female bilingual/bicultural psychotherapists and seven male bilingual/bicultural co-therapists were involved in the treatment. Each female/male therapist dyad conducted 1 Original Cuento Therapy subgroup, 1 Adapted Cuento Therapy Subgroup and 1 Art/Play Therapy subgroup.

All 162 treatment dyads underwent 20 two-hour sessions within a six month period, January-June, 1982.

Treatment Modalities

The 54 dyads in the Original Cuento Therapy treatment were presented four original folktales. The folktales were read by the mothers in a group situation. Subsequent to the readings the therapists and co-therapists analyzed the cuento ego functions depicted.

The 54 dyads in the adapted Cuento Therapy Group (7 subgroups) were presented 40 adapted cuentos. The adapted cuentos were rewritten versions of the original cuentos to reflect the original human values and the ego functions. The folktales were read by the mothers within a group situation. The cuentos were analyzed for the nine ego functions.

The 54 dyads in the Art/Play therapy underwent traditional art/play therapy sessions in a group situation.

Post-Test

For the immediate post-test the 216 dyads were tested during June/July, 1982.

For the one-year follow-up post-test, the 216 dyads will be tested in May/June, 1983.

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Reliability and Validity of TEMAS: A New Thematic Apperception Test for Urban Ethnic Minority Children

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TEMAS was developed as a thematic apperception test consisting of chromatic pictures depicting interpersonal interactions among urban ethnic minority characters, minority cultural themes and symbols, and inner-city urban settings.[1] The TEMAS pictures further depict interpersonal situations involving underlying psychological conflict (e.g., complying with a parent errand vs. playing with peers) in order to elicit verbal responses from examinees reflective of adaptiveness of ego functioning.[2] In the administration of TEMAS, examinees are presented the pictorial stimuli and then tell a story identifying the characters, their activity, setting, and conflict. Stories are scored subsequently for verbal fluency, perceptual style (transformation and omission of perceptual detail), affective functioning, and adaptiveness of ego functioning. This paper presents a series of studies investigating the psychometric properties of TEMAS based upon research conducted with urban Hispanic and black children.

STUDY I

Subjects

Subjects were 115 male and female students attending grades Kindergarten to 6 in two public elementary schools in Brooklyn, New York. With respect to ethnicity, 73 subjects were Hispanic and 42 were black. All subjects were volunteers solicited by their teachers, pending parental consent for participation in the study. Further, subjects were heterogeneous with respect to socioeconomic status, and reportedly were not undergoing psychotherapy for personality disturbance.

The mean age of Hispanics was 9.19 years and of blacks was 9.00 years. With respect to gender, 52 percent of the Hispanics and 57 percent of the blacks were female. Father's socioeconomic status was somewhat lower for Hispanics than for blacks in the low middle-class range.

Procedure

Thirty-one TEMAS pictures were administered to subjects in a random order by an examiner of the same ethnic status as the examinee. All subjects were tested individually by graduate psychology students in two testing sessions conducted in the public schools. Hispanic subjects were tested by bilingual examiners in their dominant language.

After developing a rapport with each child, the examiner showed a picture and asked the child to relate: (1) What is happening now in this picture? (2) Who are these people and how are they related? (3) Where are these people and what are they saying? (4) What were they doing before? (5) What is the main character thinking and feeling?, and (6) What will happen in the future? Subjects subsequently responded by telling a story about each picture for typically two to four minutes, which was recorded verbatim by the examiner. In the case of Hispanic subjects who responded in Spanish, stories were translated into English.

Descriptive Statistics

TEMAS protocols were scored, first, for number of unanswered inquiries, reaction time (sec.), verbal fluency (word count), and total response time (min.). On the average, Hispanics tended to respond to fewer inquiries, and reacted with longer latencies in comparison to blacks. Furthermore, Hispanics' stories were shorter in both time and length than blacks' stories.

Second, TEMAS protocols were scored for perceptual style, including fragmentation, elaboration and omission, and transformations of perceptual detail. Fragmented responses were those where the primary focus was on a part of the picture (e.g., main character's arm), as opposed to a holistic focus. Similarly, elaboration refers to whether stories tended to be

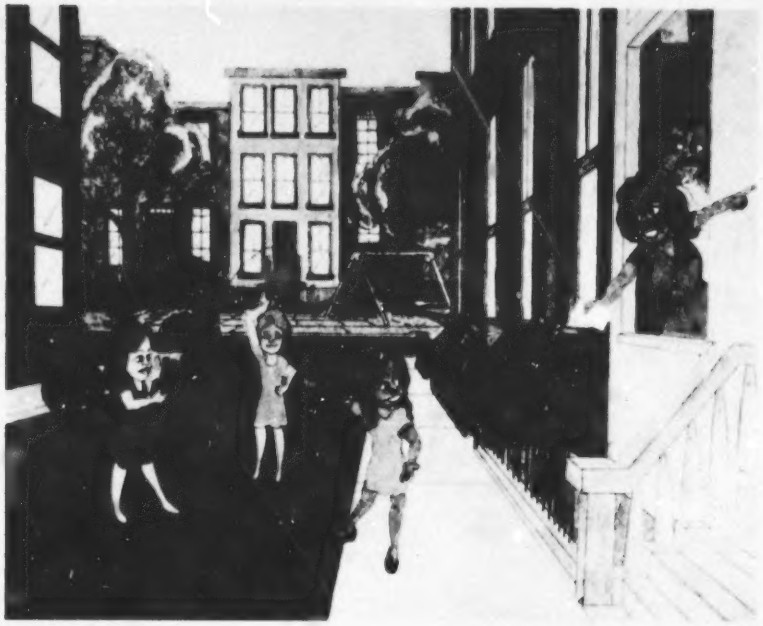

PLATE III
TEMAS card depicting a girl in conflict between obeying her mother and playing with her peers. *Copyright 1980 by G. Costantino.*

restricted in context in a perseverative theme. Omissions and transformations of perceptual detail depicted in the pictures were recorded when the details were related to the identity of main and secondary characters, sex and race of characters, event and setting. There were relatively few fragmentations, elaborations, and transformations across pictures by both Hispanics and blacks. However, omissions of perceptual detail occurred somewhat more commonly, and about twice as often in the Hispanic sample. For both groups, omission occurred primarily with events, setting and secondary characters.

Third, TEMAS protocols were scored for synthesis and integration of ideas. This referred specifically to recognition of the conflict underlying each picture, logical sequencing of temporal events, imagination or focus on perceptual detail, and recognition of interpersonal relationships among characters. Scores were tabulated across pictures by recording the number of times subjects evidenced lack of recognition of psychological conflict, illogical sequencing of temporal events, lack of imagination (i.e., failure to project story content), and lack of recognition of interpersonal relationships among characters. The two groups of subjects related stories with relatively intact synthesis and integration of ideas. In a few cases, there was lack of recognition of psychological conflict in the pictures, while illogical temporal sequencing, lack of imagination, and recognition of interpersonal relationships rarely occurred in the two samples.

Fourth, affective functioning was scored by classifying the emotional state of the main character, after resolution of the psychological conflict, as either happy, sad, angry, fearful, neutral and/or ambivalent. In addition, incongruence of the main character's affect with the theme of the story was noted. Stories typically resulted in either happy or sad emotional state after resolution of psychological conflict, somewhat more so for Hispanics than blacks. Angry, fearful, neutral and ambivalent responses were less frequent and similar between groups. Expression of incongruent affect was infrequent, but it occurred more often in the Hispanic sample.

Finally, adaptiveness of ego functioning was scored in nine domains: personal relations, aggression, anxiety/depression, achievement motivation, delay of gratification, self-concept of competence, self/sexual identity, moral judgment, and reality testing. Ego functions were noted on a five-point scale of adaptiveness of resolution of psychological conflict: 0 = very severe (e.g., psychotic) pathology; 1 = severe (e.g., sociopathic) pathology; 2 = maladaptive resolution of conflict without evidence of pathology; 3 = partially adaptive resolution of conflict due to external locus of control; 4 = complete adaptive resolution of conflict due to internal locus of control. In both samples, the average levels of ego functioning were clustered about partially adaptive resolution of psychological conflict with external locus of control. Comparatively, Hispanics evidenced somewhat less adaptiveness than blacks in terms of person relations, aggression, achievement motivation, delay of gratification, self-concept of competence, and moral judgment. Blacks, on the other hand, evidenced less adaptiveness in terms of anxiety/depression, self/sexual identity, and reality testing.

Age, Gender and SES Effects

Subsequent to scoring TEMAS protocols, each scoring criterion was correlated with subjects' age, gender (dummy coded 1 = female, 0 = male), and socioeconomic status (SES), as measured by the Hollingshead Index. By and large, the patterns of correlation found suggest that TEMAS scores are virtually independent of age (in the 5 to 13 range), although statistically significant, but low negative correlations exist between age and setting omissions, sad affect, aggression, and self/sexual identity. On the other hand, most of the correlations with age were higher in the black sample. Surprisingly, despite the restricted variance in transformations of perceptual detail, there were statistically significant and low-to-moderate negative correlations between age and total, main character, secondary character, and setting transformations, sequencing, imagination, and relationships, along with a positive correlation with anxiety/depression.

In the Hispanic sample, all correlations with gender were negligible, while for blacks, males tended toward more sex omissions, and were more sad (and conversely less happy) than females.

Finally, socioeconomic status had little influence on the TEMAS scores of Hispanics (possibly due to restricted range of SES), whereas blacks demonstrated significant but low positive SES correlations with delay of gratification, moral judgment, and reality testing.

Internal Consistency Reliability

Internal consistency reliability of

TEMAS protocols was estimated by computing coefficient alpha independently for Hispanics and blacks. Inquiries, reaction time, fluency, and total time were highly reliable in the Hispanic sample and (with the exception of inquiries) in the black sample. Omissions and transformations of perceptual detail were somewhat less internally consistent; however, omissions generally had higher reliability coefficients than transformations. Omission and transformation reliabilities were uniformly lower for blacks in comparison to Hispanics.

Conflict, sequencing, imagination, and relationships were moderately to highly reliable in both ethnic groups. Sequencing in the black sample, however, evidenced low internal consistency. With respect to affective functioning, reliability estimates in the Hispanic sample were highest for happy, sad, angry, and fearful responses, while in the black sample, high reliability was evident in scoring sad, angry, neutral and ambivalent affective states.

Reliability of ego functioning indices was computed only on particular pictures intended to "pull" specific functions. Pictures pulling person relations, aggression, and moral judgment were highly internally consistent in the Hispanic sample, whereas anxiety/depression, achievement motivation, delay of gratification, self-concept of competence, self/sexual identity, and reality testing had low to moderate reliability. For blacks, reliability coefficients again were uniformly lower, with the highest reliabilities associated with aggression and moral judgment. In part, low reliabilities may be attenuated somewhat by "test length" that is, scores based on relatively few TEMAS pictures.

Interrater Reliability

Interrater reliability in scoring TEMAS protocols was investigated by comparing two independent raters. Random samples of 27 Hispanic and 26 black examinees' protocols were rated twice and the two scores were correlated for each TEMAS picture. For Hispanic and black protocols alike, interrater reliabilities in scoring total omissions and transformations were generally moderate to high. Little differences were evident as a function of ethnic group. Raters generally showed greater agreement in scoring omissions than transformations; and further, there was moderate to high agreement in scoring main and secondary character, event and setting omissions. Fragmentation, elaboration, and sex and race omissions and transformations were too infrequent for correlations to be computed. Although illogical synthesis and integration of ideas regarding resolution of conflict, sequencing, imagination, and relationships generally occurred rarely in both samples, available estimates of correlations were suggestive of moderate to high interrater agreement. The pattern of correlations between raters was generally high in scoring affective functioning, with no substantive difference between the Hispanic and black samples.

With respect to scoring adaptiveness of ego functioning, correlations were low to moderate for reality testing and self/sexual identity in the Hispanic sample, and substantially higher for the remaining ego functions. Contrary to the pattern of internal consistency reliability estimates, the black interrater reliabilities generally were higher than corresponding Hispanic reliabilities.

Intercorrelations Among Ego Functions

Focusing on measuring adaptiveness of ego functions, intercorrelations among ego functions suggest low to moderate interrelationships among the various ego functions in both samples. Although sample sizes (N = 73 Hispanics, N = 42 blacks) were small, principal factor analyses indicated that four factors accounted for 71.7 percent of the common variance in the Hispanic correlation matrix, and three factors accounted for 70.1 percent of the variance of the black matrix. However, there was no clearly interpretable factor structure. Further, more parsimonious two-factor solutions within both samples did not yield interpretable factor structures. Perhaps the only primary distinction in the two-factor solutions was the fact that only reality testing in the Hispanic sample and anxiety/depression in the black sample on the second factor.

STUDY 2

Face Validity

TEMAS pictures were developed to pull specific ego functions based upon the nature of psychological conflict represented in the stimuli. Therefore, each TEMAS picture is scored for one to four ego functions. Accordingly, a study was conducted to assess the concordance among a sample of practicing school (N = 8) and clinical (N = 6) psychologists regarding the primary pulls of each TEMAS picture. Six of the psychologists were Ph.D. level and 8 were Masters level. Psychologists ranged in age from 24 to 54, with a mean of 7.79 years experience in testing/counseling minorities and a mean of 8.64 years experience with projective techniques. With respect to ethnicity, 7 were white, 1 black, and 6 were Hispanic. Clinical orientations of the psychologists included eclectic, analytic/dynamic, ego, and systems.

The sample of psychologists was presented the 31 TEMAS pictures in a random order and was asked independently to indicate which (if any) of the nine ego functions were pulled by each picture. The pattern of concordance among clinicians reveals surprisingly high agreement (71-100 percent) across pictures, thus confirming the primary pulls scored for adaptiveness of ego functioning.

STUDY 3

Verbal Fluency

In an earlier study, Costantino, Malgady, and Vazquez[3] administered six TAT and minority TEMAS pictures to fourth- and fifth-grade Hispanic children. Results of this study indicated that Hispanic children were more verbally responsive to TEMAS pictures than TAT pictures, and this effect was more enhanced for females than males. Consequently, a similar study was conducted to replicate these findings while increasing methodological control and generalizability of effects. First, a larger number of TEMAS and TAT pictures were used to enhance internal consistency reliability of the data. Second, the age range of subjects was broadened by sampling grades Kindergarten through six. Third, a parallel nonminority TEMAS was compared with the TAT in addition to the minority TEMAS to assess the effects of ethnic characters on verbal fluency. And fourth, the two groups of Hispanics and blacks were compared to a white control group (N = 43).

The TAT[4] and ethnic minority and nonminority versions of TEMAS[1] were administered to all subjects, the essential differences between the TAT and TEMAS being: (1) TEMAS pictures are chromatic whereas TAT pictures are achromatic; (2) TEMAS pictures are designed to "pull" ego functioning while the TAT primarily focuses on intrapsychic dynamics; (3) TEMAS pictures are much less ambiguous than TAT pictures; and (4) TEMAS pictures depict minority-pluralistic and nonminority contemporary figures whereas TAT pictures depict only nonminority figures of the 1930's.

Each TEMAS test consisted of 31 pictures (depicting either ethnic minority characters or nonminority characters), while 17 TAT pictures were administered. Within tests, pictures were administered in a random order by an examiner of the same ethnic status as the examinee. In the initial design of the study, order of administration of the three tests was counterbalanced as a function of sex and ethnicity. However, ultimately due to

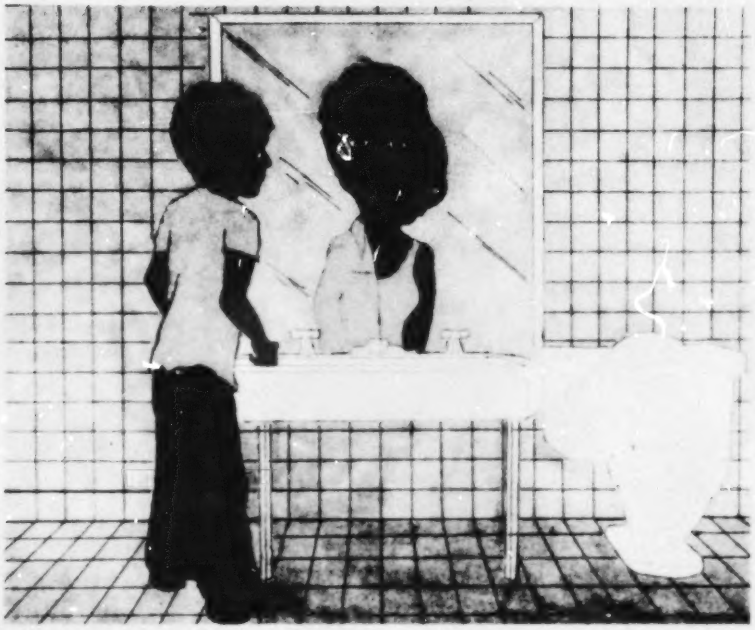

PLATE IV
TEMAS card depicting a boy with a sexual identify conflict. *Copyright 1980 by G. Costantino.*

subject attrition, the effects of administration order were statistically controlled. All subjects were tested individually by graduate psychology students in three testing sessions in the public schools. Hispanic subjects were tested by bilingual examiners in their dominant language.

Verbal fluency was measured by a word count in each subject's story about TEMAS and TAT pictures. In order to compare verbal fluency on the TEMAS and TAT, word counts were averaged across pictures. Internal consistency (alpha) reliability was high for both TEMAS tests and the TAT, indicating that the three measures were homogeneous and comparable in reliability regardless of the fact that TAT fluency scores were based on fewer pictures.

Statistical analyses revealed significant main effects due to gender and ethnicity; however there was no gender *x* ethnicity interaction. Overall, females were more verbally fluent than males, while blacks were significantly more verbally fluent that whites and Hispanics, but the latter two ethnic groups were not significantly different. There was also a statistically significant main effect due to the test factor, as subjects were significantly more responsive to the minority TEMAS and the nonminority TEMAS than the TAT, but there was no significant difference between the two TEMAS tests. Perhaps the most interesting finding was a significant ethnicity *x* test interaction. Hispanics and blacks were significantly more responsive on the minority and nonminority TEMAS tests compared to the TAT. Blacks evidenced large standardized "effect sizes,"[8] while corresponding effect sizes for Hispanics were moderate. Although Hispanics and blacks were more verbally fluent on the minority TEMAS than the nonminority TEMAS, these differences were not statistically significant. Apparently, the statistical tests were insensitive to the moderate effect size for blacks and small effect for Hispanics, primarily due to relatively large within-group variability (as opposed to small sample size). Whites evidenced no significant differences between the three tests. Finally, the gender *x* test and sex *x* test *x* ethnicity interactions were not significant.

These findings regarding sex differences in verbal fluency on thematic apperception tests replicate the earlier findings of Costantino, Malgady, and Vazquez[7] and McGrath and Kravitz.[8] Results were also consistent with the findings of Costantino, Malgady, and Vazquez (1981) that Hispanics were more verbally fluent on TEMAS compared to the TAT. Overall, both TEMAS tests elicited more verbal responsiveness than the TAT, but as a function of ethnicity, the minority and nonminority versions of TEMAS were statistically indistinguishable. Attending to the effect sizes associated with the various post hoc comparisons of tests within ethnic groups, it seems that the richness of the TEMAS tests (e.g., cultural themes, urban backgrounds, and colors) compared to the TAT accounts for a greater effect on verbal fluency than the influence of minority versus nonminority characters depicted in TEMAS pictures. Thus, while the present findings provide support for rejection of the notion that minorities are deficit in cognitive functioning on projective tests,[9] the ostensible reason does not seem to depend primarily on the ethnic characteristics of characters portrayed in projective test stimuli. Rather, the most likely explanation is that minorities are as responsive as whites (or even more responsive, as in the case of blacks in the present study) when projective test stimuli represent familiar cultural themes, urban backgrounds, colors, and reduced ambiguity. However, the present study does not provide experimental evidence as to how color, urban backgrounds, or reduced ambiguity independently influence verbal fluency.

Apart from simple verbal fluency, a critical variable that needs to be pursued in further research on projective techniques is the content analysis of examinees' stories. Despite the fact that minority subjects in the present study responded with six to twenty-five more words per picture on the TEMAS test than the TAT, the question remains as to the psychodiagnostic utility of these elaborated protocols. In this regard, a content analysis of the present data is in progress, wherein the authors hope to reevaluate the children's stories in terms of redundancy, elaboration, omissions, and psychological content.

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TEMAS: A Blind Case Study

By JEAN BAILEY

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TEMAS was first used with an outpatient clinic population in 1980. Children referred for psychological testing usually presented at least one and, more often, a combination of the following problems: (1) academic failure, (2) very aggressive or severely withdrawn behavior, and (3) bizarre ideation or hallucinations.

Frank was brought to the clinic by his father. This 12 year old boy complained of hearing "voices" which told him how to behave in various situations. Onset was four months prior to referral. Frank further reported that he had only two friends, both of whom he thought were avoiding his company at the time of the interview. Frank expressed a fear of leaving his house because he believed a gang of "bad kids" was waiting to jump him. In school his grades were average, although teachers reported that he was socially isolated. Both of Frank's parents have been hospitalized for schizophrenia. The interviewing psychiatrist requested psychological testing for Frank in order to rule out psychosis. The initial diagnostic impression was Borderline Personality Disorder (301.83).

During administration of TEMAS, Frank remained extremely formal and polite. He sat ramrod straight in his chair and appeared unable to relax despite numerous efforts to help him feel more at ease. In contrast to his rigid body posture, speech was very rapid as a torrent of ideas about "what was happening" on the cards emerged. Tenses were often confused and careful inquiry was required to determine the temporal sequencing of the story. In general, however, his language was fluent, his vocabulary was rich and he tended to be obsessively precise. Frank would often propose several "alternative" resolutions to a single conflict. For example, children caught breaking windows could (1) be put in jail, (2) be sent to reform school for juvenile criminal offenders because they are under the age of 20, or (3) post bail and see the counselor every week. When pressed for a decision at one point Frank replied, "I only know the details, not the facts." And detailed he certainly was. One setting was determined to be New York City because "the buildings are tall and New York is famous for its tall buildings and statues." An army uniform belonged to a "sergeant" and was described as a "treasured keepsake from World War II." A young boy was said to be a "Puerto Rican kid or maybe of any religion or nationality." In most of his stories, Frank's highly systematized logical thinking process was characterized by ambivalence regarding the outcome and marked circumstantiality.

Frank was able to formulate an adaptive resolution to the depicted conflict in only six of the total twenty-three stories produced. In half of these, the central theme was academic achievement and the concomitant necessity of foregoing such pleasures as television or parties until the homework was completed. (Frank wants to be a scientist or a professor.) In the remaining "adaptive" stories, the main character selects a correct response but goes on to presume that "most children might not know this."

In fact, in most instances Frank is critical of peers, calling some "hoods" while others are simply "bad." He projects drug abuse, senseless violence and poor reality testing onto others while at the same time maintaining his own goodness and ability to distinguish between reality and fantasy. Similarly, parental figures are often seen as unjust and demanding while the child is described as an innocent victim, misunderstood and feeling unloved. In the final analysis, however, Frank rationalizes such parental shortcomings by claiming that "they only want good for their children." Then again, he adds, "Sometimes a few children cannot get over it and never forget and when they grow up they don't want to see their parents again." His struggle with ambivalence is evident here.

Frank experienced the most difficulty with those cards depicting imagined events or dream sequences. A boy who tries to envision his future is described as "confused...his mind is all ripped up." A girl dreaming about monsters "will wake up screaming or she might wake up normally." And lastly, a boy who looks in the mirror and sees himself with half his mother's body and half his father's body "cannot react. He is like stone, like paralyzed, like he doesn't know what to say or think." Later in that story, the boy calls his father out of desperation and is told that it is only his imagination. Unhappily, the boy is left feeling "very confused because every time he looks in the mirror he sees the image, but when the father looks there is nothing."

Frank's performance on TEMAS underscores his growing sense of alienation from peers and parents, his fear of hallucinating, his tremendous ambivalence and consequently, his inability to resolve most age-appropriate personal and social conflicts. The "voices" which tell Frank what to do reflect an archaic superego structure which provides his severely weakened ego with some support, thus enabling him to function marginally in his environment. Frank's defensive use of splitting and projective identification often culminate in a feeling that he is being victimized and further, that other people are not to be trusted.

TEMAS responses indicated the presence of a borderline personality structure. Further testing confirmed the original diagnosis. At present Frank is making gains in treatment. He no longer hears voices. Prognosis remains guarded, however. The familial history of schizophrenic illness places Frank in the "high risk" category. His obsessive search for the "right" answer to presented psychosocial conflicts in TEMAS and his corresponding ambivalence about the adaptiveness of the various resolutions he proposes for a single conflict indicates a severe deficit in Frank's ability to meet the challenges of an ever-changing and increasingly complex array of social situations. His periodic withdrawal into fantasy and continued isolation from peers raises the strong possibility of an incipient schizophrenic process which may yet emerge without continued therapeutic intervention.

Artwork for TEMAS pictures was done by Philip Jacobs.

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